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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN EL SALVADOR (ONUSAL)

1. The purpose of the present report is to inform the Security Council that, on 15 December 1992, the armed conflict between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN) was brought formally to an end in accordance with the adjustment in the timetable for implementing the Peace Accords which the two sides had agreed on the basis of my proposal of 23 October 1992.

2. This event, which had been preceded the previous evening by the legalization of the FMLN as a political party, does not mark the end of implementation of the El Salvador Peace Accords. But it was a defining moment in the history of El Salvador, whose long suffering people can now look forward to a future in which political, economic and social arguments will be settled through the processes of democracy and not by war. The event was marked by a ceremony presided over by President Cristiani, to whom a special tribute is due for his wisdom and courage in promoting peace in his country. I had the honour of being the first speaker at the ceremony and was followed by Mr. Schafik Handal of the FMLN, Vice-President Quayle of the United States of America, Mr. Narcis Serra, Vice-President of the Government of Spain on behalf of the four "Friends of the Secretary-General", President Serrano of Guatemala on behalf of the Central American States, and President Cristiani himself. The text of my statement is at Annex I.

3. During the preceding weeks, the parties had, in general, complied with their commitments in accordance with the adjustments to the timetable in my proposal of 23 October 1992. Both COPAZ and the Legislative Assembly had made a determined effort to complete pending legislation. Informal reports on progress in recent weeks had been presented to the members of the Security Council. The following points are worth special mention:

(a) Demobilization and demilitarization

The demobilization of the fourth FMLN contingent, due on 20 November, was completed after considerable delay. However, the fifth and final contingent was demobilized on time. The relevant statistics are at Annex II.

(b) FMLN arms

The inventory was presented and the FMLN's arms concentrated in the designated zones on time by 30 November. After analysis by ONUSAL, the inventory was accepted as satisfactory. It included details both of sophisticated weapons and of armament located outside El Salvador. The destruction of the arms by FMLN began with only a slight delay. However, for technical reasons, destruction could not be completed by 15 December, by when only about 50 per cent of the inventory had been destroyed. The process continues under ONUSAL's supervision and should finish by the end of December. The destruction of weapons located outside El Salvador should be completed in early January 1993.

(c) Recall of weapons distributed to civilian groups and individuals

This recall was to have been effected by 8 December 1992. However, notwithstanding constant urgings by ONUSAL, the Government failed to take any effective steps to ensure the return of the weapons. As of 8 December 1992, less than 100 (out of an estimated total of several thousands) had been recovered. ONUSAL has been assured by the Government that its efforts will be intensified. It will continue to press the Government for effective action.

(d) Ad Hoc Commission and Truth Commission

The administrative decisions on the implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission were presented punctually by the Government. The actual implementation is to follow shortly. The Commission on the Truth has completed its investigations and will present its report and recommendations in February 1993.

4. It is important that both parties, and the international community, should persevere in their efforts to ensure punctual implementation of the remaining provisions of the Peace Accords. Much remains to be done. All provisions of the Accords are to be regarded as solemn commitments but certain of them merit special emphasis. One is the programme for effective land transfers outlined in my proposal of 13 October 1992, which was accepted by the parties and therefore constitutes an agreement between them, including guarantees for the non-eviction of current landholders until a legal solution is achieved. Another is the effective implementation of programmes for the reintegration into civilian life of ex-combatants from both sides, with special attention to the war-disabled. A third is improvement in the effective international supervision of the National Public Security Academy and its establishment in permanent premises. A fourth is the establishment of the National Civilian Police, and its progressive and timely deployment, with the corresponding phasing out of the present National Police. A fifth is the completion of the planned reduction of the Armed Forces. A sixth is the concertation in the Forum for Economic and Social Consultation of long-term plans for the economic and social development of El Salvador. The role of COPAZ in ensuring the effective implementation of these and other pending commitments is central and must be supported and strengthened by both parties.

5. It is to be noted in this context that FMLN, which negotiated and signed the Peace Accords as an armed movement and is now a fully legal political party, retains its status as one of the two signatories to these Accords until they have been fully implemented. I have no doubt that the Government of El Salvador will maintain, in this respect, the positive and constructive attitude it has previously demonstrated.

6. As the remaining provisions of the Accords are implemented, under the constant supervision of ONUSAL, both parties will have a continuing responsibility to foster political stability and the climate of détente and reconciliation referred to in the Accords. Special care will be required in the former zones of conflict where ill-judged action by either party could cause tensions to resurface. The Presidential, legislative and municipal elections which are to be held in March 1994 will be the logical culmination of the entire peace process. Only then will peace, which has been achieved at such high cost, be firmly consolidated in El Salvador. Until then the watchword must be restraint, tolerance and national reconciliation.

7. The transition from war to peace does not come spontaneously or easily. Twelve years of strife inevitably leave deep scars, bitter memories and rancour. Peace is won only by effort and resolve. There must therefore be a change in attitudes, a change in mentalities. Reconciliation must be the new challenge; social justice and the struggle against poverty, the new goals. As I declared in the ceremony on 15 December, as long as the people of El Salvador remain steadfast in the commitments which they undertook at Chapultepec, the international community will be behind them and support them in building peace in the wake of war. But the primary responsibility belongs to the Salvadorians themselves.

Annex I

Statement of Secretary-General at the ceremony marking the end of the armed conflict in El Salvador San Salvador, 15 December 1992

President Cristiani,
Presidents and Vice-Presidents from other nations,
Members of the Comandancia of the FMLN,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

The armed conflict in El Salvador has come to an end.

Thirty-two months ago, the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberacion Nacional began a negotiating process under the auspices of my predecessor, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. The purpose of the process was "to end the armed conflict by political means as speedily as possible, promote the democratization of the country, guarantee unrestricted respect for human rights and reunify Salvadorian society".

Today, following almost a year without armed combat, El Salvador crosses the line from armed peace into a new era. It is a momentous occasion indeed. The first goal of the process has been achieved. Salvadorians have every reason to be proud. At a turbulent time in history, they are providing a shining example to the world.

Many steps have been taken toward achieving the second goal, that of promoting the democratization of the country. Many more are yet to come. This process is to build on the solid foundations laid down in the negotiation, in the reforms of the Constitution ratified earlier this year. But democracy is an elusive goal. It must permeate the minds of all. Salvadorians must become accustomed to tolerance. This means accepting that others may have different ideas. This means that others may have different attitudes. This means that others may have different policies. This means respecting the right of others to freely express those ideas; to hold those attitudes; to promote those policies. The broad spectrum of society represented in this ceremony testifies to the giant strides already taken in the direction of pluralism.

Monitoring of respect for human rights is an important element of the work of the United Nations in El Salvador. It sends a signal to the people, even in the farthest reaches of the country: the changes occurring are meant to provide them with an environment in which their rights are respected. ONUSAL has been monitoring respect for human rights for almost a year and a half. This will continue to be done throughout the country, on a long-term basis. Thus the third goal of the process is being gradually consolidated.

The last goal, the reunification of Salvadorian society, is still not within reach. The scars of the past are still present. It is essential that

those in a position of responsibility should play a leading role in the healing of wounds. As President Cristiani put it in his remarkable speech at Chapultepec Castle:

> "... what is beginning to occur in El Salvador is not the re-establishment of a pre-existing peace. It is the inauguration of an authentic peace based on social consensus; on the basic harmony between social, political and ideological sectors, and above all on the concept of the country as a whole without exclusion."

The two warring parties negotiated the peace. But many sectors of society played a role in the great national debate which took place during the negotiation. They must also play a part in bringing Salvadorians back together. COPAZ has a central role to play in this mission, as does the Forum for Economic and Social Consultation.

The reunification of society is a long-term goal. It will not come about by miracle. The parties to the peace agreement must give the example by complying scrupulously with their solemn undertakings. They must also play a determined, active role in assisting the process of détente and reconciliation. They are specifically committed to do so under the Peace Agreement. This is fundamentally important.

I am well aware of the difficulties which have been encountered in implementing the Peace Agreement. I know of the tensions that have arisen as a result of the challenges inherent in meeting a very tight timetable. The timetable was an ambitious mechanism, as intricate as clockwork. It could not be otherwise. Its purpose was to synchronize two distinct but interlocking processes: the reintegration of the members of the FMLN, within a framework of full legality, into the civil, institutional and political life of the country, on the one hand; and the establishment of the necessary guarantees and conditions to bring about that reintegration, on the other.

It is not entirely surprising that problems should have arisen in implementing this timetable. It is a reason for rejoicing that these problems have largely been overcome. For example, a serious crisis was faced in dealing with the problem of the land. This led to the suspension of the demobilization of the FMLN. The entire process was in danger. The provisions of the land issue had not been spelled out with sufficient clarity in the Chapultepec Agreement.

Fortunately, with assistance from various quarters and the cooperation of the parties, it proved possible to resolve the land question in October. This permitted the demobilization of the FMLN to resume.

Further difficulties and much public debate arose in reference to the recommendations of the Ad hoc Commission on the purification of the Armed Forces. These have fortunately been overcome. I wish to pay tribute to the members of that Commission. They have discharged an onerous and sensitive task in the service of their country. The beneficiary will be the Salvadorian

people, who will have at their service a professional institution, under civilian authority, adapted to the needs of tomorrow.

It is quite possible that the watershed in the process of reuniting Salvadorian society will come only when the report of the Commission on the Truth becomes available. The scriptures tell us that the truth shall set you free. Salvadorians will only put the past behind them once the truth about the past is brought to light. We await with expectation the results of the courageous labour which these three eminent and wise men have undertaken.

For the United Nations, involvement in El Salvador has been a pioneering experience. It is the first in a new generation of United Nations operations whose purpose is post-conflict peace-building. In addition to the verification of respect for human rights, the United Nations is variously involved in a complex and integrated set of tasks. These tasks are carried out under the aegis of ONUSAL headed by Mr. Iqbal Riza, my Special Representative. We assist the National Police and monitor its activities. We participate in the creation of a new National Civil Police. We monitor the transition to a new, leaner Armed Forces, better suited to its role as defined in the reformed Constitution. We play an active role in overseeing the implementation of the agreement on land. We stand ready to assist so that the land programme can be implemented. In short, we are trying to help in ensuring that the causes of the conflict do not recur.

The Security Council and I myself place the greatest emphasis on the consolidation of stable conditions following the definitive end of the armed conflict today. But the primary responsibility lies with the people of El Salvador. The Security Council cannot substitute for you, the Salvadorian people. Neither the Secretary-General, nor the "Friends of the Secretary-General", nor indeed any other country can replace the people of El Salvador. I can assure you, however, that as long as the people of El Salvador remain steadfast in the commitments which they undertook at Chapultepec, the international community is behind you. The international community will support you.

Annex II

FMLN Demobilization as at 17 December 1992

Military Regional Office	Military Verification Team	Disarmed Combatants
San Salvador	La Reina	415
	San Antonio los Ranchos	1 084
	El Ocotal	277
	El Paisnal	244
	Guazapa	1 760
	Sub-Total	3 780
San Vicente	Murillo	202
	Tecoluca	266
	Santa Clara	253
	Santa Marta	558
	El Zapote	436
	Sub-Total	1 715
San Miguel	Perquín	1 403
	Isleta	202
	San Francisco Javier	526
	Las Marias	553
	Nueva Granada	697
	Sub-Total	3 381
TOTAL		8 876*

Weapons	Percentage of Inventory
Collected	93.4%
Destroyed	46.8%

* Note: In addition, there are 3,486 war handicapped and injured members of the FMLN. These have also been demobilized.